



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

By HENRY A. REDPATH,
London, England.

IN considering the geography of the Septuagint it is necessary first of all to state the conditions under which we must carry on our inquiries. If we examine the geographical names or terms which occur throughout that collection of translations and original works, we shall find, to begin with, in their case as in the case of other proper names, various forms which indicate various stages in the elaboration of the translation, or in the knowledge on the part of the translator of the subject with which he was dealing, it is impossible almost to say which was the cause in many cases.

In the first place, there was the simple transliteration of the name. This transliteration, as I indicated in my previous paper,¹ follows very often an entirely different vocalization from that of the massoretic tradition. Such a common name as *Ιερουσαλημ*, when compared with *Εφραιμ*, shows this. The *-ημ* and the *-αιμ* represent the same termination, according to the Massoretes; though the ם in the name of the capital city of the country only appears at the most five times in the Hebrew, the vocalization assumes its existence always. These transliterations have suffered many corruptions. In some cases this is owing to the uncertainty of the Hebrew text itself, or it arises from a confusion between one consonant and another.² In other cases the mistake is due to such a confusion as is so liable to occur between the Greek uncial letters Α, Δ, Λ, Μ, Ν.³ Moreover, any scribe who thought he knew a little Hebrew seems to have occasionally turned his hand and pen to emendations of his copy. Ignorance of Hebrew led to other distortions.⁴ Further still, in different names, the correspond-

¹ AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 1-19.

² *E. g.*, in Ezek. 27 : 16 two of the chief uncials, B and Q, have a confusion between ך and ך and read *Δαμωθ*, where the Hebrew should certainly be transliterated *Ραμωθ*.

³ Thus we have such a form as *Ααδα* in A of 1 Chron. 4 : 21 to represent *לעדא*, *Δαηλ* in Numb. 3 : 24 instead of *Δαηλ*, and any number of permutations and combinations of these sources of error.

⁴ Such a form as *Ουλαμμυς* for *לוצ*, "formerly Luz," is due to this cause; for an analogy to this we may quote such a name as the English "Old Sarum."

ence of one consonant with another is not maintained even in the same book.⁵

In the next stage the name is given a regular Greek form, and is declinable, or the Hebrew transliterated form itself is declined; thus we have *Ιεροσολυμα* used as a neuter plural,⁶ and *Γομορρα* appears both as a singular feminine noun and once as a neuter plural.

There are still further developments to be noticed:

1. Where a name of a place is attached to a special incident, to account for its etymology, the name itself is often translated into its equivalent in Greek.⁷ This is most particularly to be noticed in the book of Genesis.

2. Just as in the Hellenizing period of Jewish history, Hebrew names of persons were changed into some Greek name, as similar as could be found—*e. g.*, Joshua became Jason—so it was apparently with the names of places. It is in this way that we must account for such a form as *Ἀφαίρεμα* in 1 Macc. 11:34—a sacrificial word of constant use in the ceremonial part of the Pentateuch, and occurring twice in this sense in Ezekiel and twice in 1 Maccabees itself—to represent Ephraim.⁸ A combination of corruptions in Greek and Hebrew leads occasionally to curious results.⁹

⁵ We have but to illustrate this by the uncertainty which prevails as to how the Hebrew ש should be represented. *Αμαληκ* and *Γομορρα* are the equivalents of two words, both beginning with ש and both ש's pointed in the same way by the Massoretes.

⁶ This form will be still further considered later.

⁷ Thus Penuel or Peniel becomes *Εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ*, Beersheba becomes *Φρέαρ ὄρκισμου*, and so on.

⁸ It may be interesting to note here that the Hellenizing form *Ιεροσολυμα* never occurs in the LXX except in the following apocryphal books: 1 Esdras (only A), Tobit, and 1-4 Maccabees, and once in Ecclesiasticus, as if it were a compound of *λερός* and *Σόλυμα*. Josephus seems to connect the name Solyma with Salem (*cf.* Gen., chap. 14). The names Solyma and Solymi, as elsewhere known, are of Semitic origin and refer to Lycia.

⁹ The following table of readings in 1 Chron. 4:31 will illustrate this:

	חצר	סוסים
	חצר	סוסים
[HMICYWCIM]		
HMICYWCIM	A	
HMICYECOPAM	B*	
HMICYECWCORAM	B ^{ab}	

(-ωρεμ is the termination of the next name in the passage).

It may perhaps be permitted me in this connection, as a curiosity, to point out that I was able to show that in Ezek. 39:12 what had been always printed as the particle *τῶτε* in editions of the Vatican text, should really be *τὸ τέ, τε* being an obvious corruption in uncials of *γῆ*, the reading practically of both A and Q, and a transliteration of the Hebrew גִּיא, "a valley," in the expression, "the valley of the sons of Hinnom." Accordingly in Swete's text of Ezekiel it is so printed.

3. A still further advance is to be noted, when we find the Semitic names identified with quite different names assigned to the same places, rivers, or mountains by the Greeks. We have not to read very far in the LXX before we come across an instance of this, the identification of the Hebrew הַדִּיקְל with the Tigris¹⁰ in Gen. 2:14.

A simple transliteration, or even a Græcizing form or an etymological translation of a name, whether it be right or wrong, means little or nothing for our present purpose.

It is with the last class of names—purely Greek names in themselves—that I wish to deal more particularly, because I think it may show us, in some small degree, the extent of culture and information which the translator of any particular book had outside the book he was dealing with and the Jewish circles in which he moved. *Prima facie* I suppose we should imagine that such a person as we are thinking of would know little of the far East or West, and that what he would be most familiar with, in the days in which the translation of most of the books of the LXX was made or the original Greek books in that volume were written, would be the seaports or towns near the seacoast in the eastern Mediterranean, especially those where a considerable Jewish trading population resided, and also, in the case of an Egyptian resident, something of the interior of lower Egypt.

I propose in dealing with this question to show first of all what we may learn as to the translated books and their acquaintance with the Greek names of countries and places. We must, however, notice that there are just a few names of so remote antiquity and so wide

Lagarde's Lucianic text, however, follows the Hebrew T. R., but has dropped the final M and has *Ἀρεπροπον*.

There is also a very curious confusion in two passages in 4 Kings (17:16 and 18:11) where the word עָרִי (*i. e.*, cities) becomes both in B and A *οπη* (which so far as the letters go may be either a transliteration or a false translation or represent a reading of עָרִי for דָּרִי) while in the Lucianic text Lagarde gives the further corruption of *ὀπλους* or *ὀποις* instead of *οπη*.

¹⁰ But see later for these two names.

acceptance that it was inevitable that they should appear in any such Greek books, either originally written in Greek or translations, as those we are dealing with. The three most noticeable of these throughout the LXX are:

1. *Egypt*—a name as old as Homer in its use as the name of the great river, the Nile. According to Brugsch, the name is really Egyptian in origin and was primarily given to the chief temple at Memphis or to Memphis itself. But to the Hebrews the country was known as מִצְרַיִם—a name of which the derivation and the explanation of the form are both uncertain, though it has often been considered that the form was a dual as referring to the two Egypts—Upper and Lower. The Hebrew name is only recognized in the LXX in the translation of Gen. 10:6, 13 and the corresponding passage in 1 Chron. 1:8, 11, and in 2 Esdr. 9:1. There are obvious reasons why the name should have been transliterated in all these passages but one. The LXX gives no support to the modern theories of the importance of the Muṣri in north Syria or in north Arabia. The LXX version of Daniel, it is true, translates הַמִּצְרַיִם, “the south,” by Αἴγυπτος, but this is evidently intended to stand as an equivalent for Egypt.

2. *Ethiopia*—the country of the burnt-faced—*i. e.*, sun-burnt—ones. The Ethiopia of the Greeks—a very ancient name—was of very uncertain and indefinite extent. This may be illustrated from the LXX by the fact that “the inhabitants of the wilderness” in Ps. 72:9; 74:14 (Heb. מִצְרַיִם) are represented as Ethiopians, and that in Ezek. 30:5 פִּיִּשְׁתִּי is made equivalent to Πέρσαι, Persians. In this last passage Cush is identified with the Babylonian district of that name. For the earliest mention in Greek of the Asiatic Ethiopians we must go to Herodotus (iii, 94; vii, 70). Ethiopia stands in general for the Hebrew פִּיִּשְׁתִּי, a name used also by the Assyrians and imported in the first place from Egypt, where the name occurs as early as the twelfth dynasty, more than 2000 B. C. The transliteration Χους or Χουσαι only occurs in Gen. 10:6, 7, 8, just as we saw in the case of Mizraim, and in the parallel passages 1 Chron. 1:8, 9, 10. In other places where these Greek forms occur they are either the name of a man (*e. g.*, 2 Kings, chap. 18) or of a place (Judith 7:18).

That there was an Arabian Cush as well as a Babylonian and an Egyptian one seems to be generally acknowledged. It does not fall within the scope of this article to assign the passages of the Bible in which the name occurs to the different localities, but it may be that

the translator of Hab. 3:7 had some vague idea of this when he translated "the tents of Cushan" by σκηνώματα Αιθιοπών, which is parallel to αἱ σκηναὶ γῆς Μαδιάμ.

3. *Syria*.—This was another ancient Greek term of uncertain extent and was in its origin a shortened form of Assyria. It included, at one time at any rate, Assyria as well as Syria (Herodotus vii, 63), and even apparently Cappadocia. Districts in it were known as Συρία ἡ Παλαιστίνη (Hdt. iii, 91), ἡ Φοινίκη Συρία (Diodorus 19:93), and Κοίλη Συρία (Strabo), of which the last is known to the LXX, as we shall see later.

The "Syria" of the LXX, however, is almost invariably the אֲרָם of the Hebrew, except in a few cases where, owing to the similarity of the letters ט and ס, Syria represents Edom. In one passage (Judith 18:7), it takes the place of אָדָם "man," though when the clause is repeated in v. 28 the substitution does not occur. Traces of the inclusion of Assyria within the term still survive; once in Numb. 24:22, where the first hand of the Vatican reads Σύριοι instead of Ἀσσύριοι, while Σούρ in Ezek. 16:28 (A) stands for אֲשׁוּר, and *vice versa* in Isa. 17:3 (A¹) and in Jer. 42 (35):11, where Ἀσσυρος or Ἀσσύριος stands for אֲרָם.

If, in the course of our investigations in this direction, we are tempted to ask why the כְּשִׁיִּים of the Hebrews became Χαλδαῖοι, we cannot at present give an answer which is completely satisfactory. Is it simply the substitution "of a liquid for a sibilant before a dental?"¹¹ Or is the origin of the two names different? Delitzsch would have us believe that the Babylonian Kašdu is equivalent to territory of the Kaš a people in middle Babylonia before 1200 B. C.; while the Jews perhaps tried to connect the name with the Chesed, son of Nahor, of Gen. 22:22. After 1000 B. C., however, we meet with a land of Kaldû to the southeast of Babylonia, a name which eventually included more even than all Babylonia. But to enter into all this would lead us too far from our present subject.

That the terms Canaan and Canaanite were also interpreted somewhat widely seems also clear. In Deut. 32:49 (B) Moab figures as Canaan, though the name may perhaps have found its way in from the clause in the verse which immediately follows. In Josh. 11:3 (A*) the Amorites are called Canaanites, but here again perhaps from the same cause. In Exod. 6:15; 16:35; Josh. 5:12; Job. 40:25,

¹¹ Cf. HASTINGS'S *Dict. of the Bible*, *sub voce*.

Phœnicia and Canaan are identified.¹² This use of the term corresponds most closely to the earliest use of it in the Egyptian monuments about 1800 B. C. Of the name Phœnicia itself no entirely satisfactory explanation has been given.¹³ A people called Fenkhu is mentioned as working in the Egyptian quarries so early as the sixteenth century B. C., but it is extremely doubtful whether there was any connection between them and the Phœnicians.

We proceed now to discuss the actual mention of particular countries or places by their Greek names in the LXX.

The first name that meets us in Genesis is the river Tigris as the equivalent of the Hiddekel. The name also occurs in both Daniels,¹⁴ Ecclesiasticus, and Judith. Josephus in his History of the Creation gives the form Δίγλαθ. This form corresponds very closely to Diklat; which is supposed to have been the Assyrian form of the name, and to Diglat, the Babylonian form. Pliny, indeed, asserts (vi. 9) that in its upper courses the river was called Diglito, and lower down Tigris. The earliest form of the Greek name was Τίγρης, and this goes back at any rate as far as Herodotus. Though these three names look so utterly unlike, yet it seems certain that they all had their origin in the pre-Semitic name Maš-tig-gar, the first sign of which was perhaps read Aḫi.¹⁵

The name Mesopotamia dates from the time of the conquests of Alexander, and is a development from Συρία ἡ μέση τῶν ποταμῶν. An untenable suggestion has been made that the term has nothing to do with μέσος, but is a corruption of an Aramaic word meaning "district," and need not necessarily be limited to the district between the two great rivers, Tigris and Euphrates. The use of the word is limited to the Pentateuch, Judges (once in A), 1 Chronicles, Psalms (once; also Symmachus), and Judith. It represents various Hebrew expressions: Aram, Aram-naharaim, Naharaim (in 1 Chronicles and Psalms, where the present text reads Συρίας Μεσοποταμίας and Μεσοποταμίαν Συρίας or -αν), Paddan (with Aram separately translated by Συρία), and Paddan-

¹²It will be remembered in this connection that the Babylonians called Canaan the land of the Amurrū (cf. PINCHES, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia*).

¹³One of the least improbable conjectures connects the name with the valuable purple dye of Phœnicia.

¹⁴In Theodotion, however, it may be only a gloss for Εδδεκελ or Ενδεκελ of Symmachus, [so Q omits], or the latter word may be a gloss for Τίγρις, as both occur in the text.

¹⁵Cf. *Ency. Biblica*, art. "Hiddekel."

Aram. In the passage in Judges we have a still more curious combination, Συρίας Μεσοποταμίας ποταμῶν (A), for which B reads ποταμῶν Συρίας, which seems to be a corruption of a conflation of readings. There is no doubt about the district intended. In Judith 8 : 26 where the allusion is to patriarchal history we have the combination Μεσοποταμία τῆς Συρίας, as in Genesis, though it does not occur in the other passages. This may show an acquaintance on the part of the translator of that book with the LXX version of Genesis.

There is a very curious and marked variation in the treatment of the people whom we know as Philistines. In the Pentateuch, with one doubtful exception (Exod. 34 : 15 [A²B]), the name is transliterated, as also in Joshua, and in a certain number of passages in the Vatican text of Judges; these last, however, cannot be held of much account, as the Vatican text of Judges is generally believed to be a very late recension. The transliteration is also reproduced in 1 Chron. 1 : 12 (parallel to Gen. 10 : 14) and crops up later three times in Ecclesiasticus and once in 1 Maccabees, though elsewhere 1 Maccabees, with 2, 3, 4 Maccabees, follows the other rendering, as does also Judith. It only survives once in the other versions (Theod. Judg. 3 : 3) though Aquila and Symmachus have the name pretty frequently under the form Φυλιστιαῖος. They are once called Ἑλλήνες in Isa. 9 : 12 (11) by all the chief manuscripts. The common rendering in most of the books, outside the Pentateuch is, as everyone well knows, ἀλλόφυλοι. Putting this side by side with the rendering of Isaiah just mentioned, and assuming, as is generally allowed, that the Pentateuch is the earliest part of the Greek Bible, we may be permitted to draw the conclusion that at any rate the translators of these books had some notion that the Philistines were not of the same blood, *i. e.*, Semite, as the other inhabitants of Canaan, but of an origin akin to the Hellenic race.¹⁶ In fact, the Philistines seem to have had their origin in Crete or Cyprus. Why, then, was this translation of the name not used in the Pentateuch? Was it that the translators were not aware of this non-Semitic origin of the race? This could hardly be, because (a) the origin of the Philistines was said in the Pentateuch itself to be from Caphtor, and (b) the fact that they were an uncircumcised race is constantly mentioned. One would rather think that it was due to an anxiety not to put into the Torah, which stood on so much higher a plane to most Jews than

¹⁶ The use of the kindred words ἀλλοφυλεῖν, ἀλλοφυλισμός, in 4 and 2 Maccabees respectively, also points toward the Greek world, for they are used of the Hellenizing party.

the rest of the Hebrew Bible, anything that was not actually to be found written therein. The number of identifications of Hebrew names with Greek names in the Pentateuch bears this out, being exceedingly small. Besides the Tigris, which after all we have seen to be in its origin identical with Hiddekel, we have the *Ῥόδιοι*, or inhabitants of Rhodes, mentioned as they are also in the parallel passage in 1 Chronicles and in one passage in Ezekiel. In Genesis the Hebrew is *הִדְדָנִים*, and in Ezekiel *הִדְדָן*, but in 1 Chronicles there is a vacillation of the Hebrew between *הִדְדָנִים* and *הִדְדָן*, while Lagarde's Lucianic text has in that passage *Δωδανειμ*. Dedan, however, in Genesis generally figures as *Δαιδάν*; it may be that the original reading in Ezekiel was *הִדְדָן* or *הִדְדָן*. The latter is implied by the philological interpretation of *Ῥόδιοι* in *Qm* as *Ῥοδῆσις κρίσεως*, but Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion all have *Δαδαν*. Even if the name is rightly written in all these cases with a *ד* and not a *ד*, we still have to account for the short *o* in the Greek. Cheyne would have us suppose that *Ῥόδιοι* is the natural substitution of a more familiar term in the Greek period, and that the original reading may have been *הִדְדָנִים* or Dardanim if it was not Dedan. This is a tempting solution, but it is difficult to see how ivory and ebony (see Ezekiel) could be especially connected with any Greek place. The only other passage in which Rhodes appears is in the list of kings and countries into which the Roman consul wrote on behalf of the Jews, 1 Macc., chap. 15. Rhodes had at one time dominion over some part of the coasts of Caria and Lycia and several neighboring islands.

One further identification in Genesis is that of On and Heliopolis—the latter name being corrupted by A in some passages—perhaps because of its being a more familiar name for a city—into the city of Ilium. Outside the Pentateuch, and in two passages in it in which there is no corresponding Hebrew, we have the name On itself. On was, as is well known, the center of sun-worship in Egypt and one of its most ancient cities. The Greek name is as old as Herodotus (ii, 3, 7, 59). It has been called “the university of the land of Mizraim.” After the dispersion it had a large Jewish population, which perhaps afterward migrated to Leontopolis, where Onias founded a Jewish temple early in the second century B. C.

It is perhaps worth while, in passing, to notice how Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, all identify Ararat with Armenia in the history of the flood, just, indeed, as the LXX translator of Isaiah does “the land of Ararat” with the land of Armenia (37:38). Of the name Armenia no satisfactory

explanation has been given. Symmachus in one passage of Amos (4:3) also identifies the Harmon of R. V. with Armenia, while a note on Ezek. 38:6 identifies Togarmah with the Armenians. Three other names Symmachus has in one passage of Genesis which point to an acquaintance with Asia Minor—Ellasar of Gen. 14:1, 9 becomes Pontus, Elam becomes the Scythians, and Goyim becomes Pamphylia from an attempt to render the Hebrew word which means "nations."

The Scythians seem by their invasion of western Asia to have carried sword and fire throughout the length and breadth of the country. Symmachus's identification of them with Elam shows, perhaps, the direction from which he imagined them to have come. They left their mark especially on the town of Bethshan, which became known as Scythopolis (Judg. 1:27, *Βαιθσάν, ἢ ἐστὶν Σκυθῶν πόλις*), perhaps because of a considerable settlement there in the seventh century B. C. Their cruelty seems to have become proverbial in later times, for the compiler of 2 Maccabees speaks of certain "hapless men, who, if they had pleaded even before Scythians, would have been discharged uncondemned" (4:47; cf. 3 Macc. 7:5; Demetrius, *de Elocutione*, §§ 216, 297). The name seems to have quite supplanted the older name, and the town formed in later times one of the group of towns known as Decapolis.

Of Pamphylia and Pontus little need be said. The district bearing the former name had, as that name implies, a mixed population of all sorts—aboriginal, Cilician, Greek. Pontus was a seacoast district first mentioned under that name by Xenophon (*Anab.*, v, 6, 15) on the southern coast of the Pontus Euxinus.

In the rest of the Pentateuch we do not find many additional Greek names. This may be due, as I have already suggested, to a scrupulous adherence by a Jewish translator to the letter of the law.

The exceptions are: (1) Tanis—the Greek equivalent for the Hebrew Zoan—which is of tolerably frequent occurrence throughout the LXX. The name is used also once for Sin (סִין) in Ezek. 30:15 (A). The Greek Tanis is mentioned first in Greek by Herodotus (ii, 66). Antilibanus—three times in Deuteronomy, twice also in Joshua, and once in BA of Judith—a later refinement of title for a range running parallel to the Lebanon proper, and forming one of the walls enclosing what is now known as the Buka'a, and was known to the Greeks as Cœle-Syria. Both are included under the Hebrew title Lebanon, but are distinguished in the book of Judith (1:7). The name does not occur before Strabo, and no satisfactory reason seems to be given for its appearance in certain passages of the LXX instead of *Ἀλβανός*. (3) Cappadocia and Cappadocians. This is a strange translation of כַּפְתֹּר and כַּפְתֹּרִים and occurs in Deuteronomy and Amos, and also in Aquila and Theodotion's versions of Jeremiah (47 [29]: 4). A scholion on Ezek. 38:6 identifies Gomer and Cappadocia, though Gomer and Caphtor are, according

to Gen. 10:2, 14, of very different origin, the former being Japhetic, the latter Hamitic. This last identification seems to be likely, and as the district assigned to Gomer would be an indefinite one, and there was something of similarity in the sound of the names Caphtor, Cappadocia, this may perhaps have led to their identification. In other places where the name occurs it is transliterated. The name Cappadocia is probably of Semitic origin, and was in use by Greek writers as early as Herodotus.¹⁷

In the *historical books* outside the Pentateuch little knowledge of any places beyond the borders of Palestine is called for or displayed. A certain number of translations of names occur, *e. g.*, in Judges, Καλοθμών for Bochim, Myrsina by a misreading of the Hebrew for Heres, Petra (as in R. V., though not as a proper name) for Sela, and Schedia (? for Helbah), a name which also occurs in 3 Macc. 4:11; in 1 Kings (= 1 Samuel) Καινή by a misreading of נ for כ. In 2 Kings (2 Sam.) Aquila from whom we should least expect it, gives us Ἐπιφάνεια as the equivalent of Hamath. The place still retains its Syrian name. This Greek name, and others like it such as that of the river Ἐλεῖθερος (1 Macc. 11:7) seem to have been invented at about the beginning of the second century B. C., under the Seleucid rulers when a strong Hellenizing wave swept over the whole of the near east. At any rate, the name Eleutherus is used in such a way as if it were not familiar to the writer of 1 Maccabees. In 3 Kings (by *cod.* A and Aq.), and in Ezekiel we have a tolerably unanimous consensus of Greek authority for identifying Gebal with Biblus or Byblus, and the two names certainly represent the same place. No explanation of how the change from Gebalto Byblus was made has been given; this place still retains the Semitic form Jubeil.

The African name Cyrene appears in A and Aq. of 4 Kings 16:9 (with the termination -δε in both cases; perhaps, however, the word Κυρήνηνδε is an interpolation in the LXX from Aq.); and in Aquila and Symmachus in two different places in Amos (1:5; 9:7). In all three places the name represents the Hebrew קִיר. The form is perhaps only a Græcized one, but to a certain extent it bears out Winkler's conjecture¹⁸ that the name in Hebrew should be קִיר, not קִיר. In Isa. 22:6, where Kir also occurs, the LXX ignores its occurrence. In the other two places where Cyrene is mentioned (1 Macc. 15:23;

¹⁷It would be an interesting investigation into a subject of which very little is known, to trace the earliest occurrences, and the meaning and derivation of some of these Græco-Asiatic names; but it is beside the mark here.

¹⁸See *Ency. Biblica*, *sub voce*.

2 Macc. 2:23), the African town is undoubtedly meant. Cyrene was famous from the earliest times (Hdt. iii, 131) as a center of light and learning.

Another curious name of a tribe that occurs in the LXX of 2 Chron. (14:15, 22) is that of the Ἀμαζονεῖς or Ἀλιμαζονεῖς. It is a temptation at first to endeavor to identify them with the Scythian Amazons, but they are distinctly called Arabians in the second passage; and the name seems to be a corruption gradually developed in the one case from some transliterated form of מִקְנֶה "cattle;" in the other of מַחֲנֶה "post" or "camp."

Troglodytes, or cave-dwellers, occur in 2 Chron. 12:2. We should not have been surprised to find the name used as a translation of הֲרִיִּים, *i. e.*, the Horites; but it is quite in place where it does occur, in a list of African tribes which Shishak, king of Egypt, took up with him against Jerusalem in King Rehoboam's reign. The Hebrew name of the tribe is סִכְיִיִּים; transliterated in Lagarde's Lucianic text as Σουχίειμ. They lived on the shores of the Red Sea and are mentioned by Herodotus (iii, 19; iv, 185). Aristotle (*H.A.*, viii, 12) describes them as pygmies. Troglodytæ served in Xerxes's army (480 B. C.) among his light troops.

The form Ecbatana, which Herodotus writes as Agbatana, for the name of the city of Media, known to the Hebrews as Achmetha, is of doubtful origin, but is probably only a corruption of the Hebrew name. The identification of the site of the city, indicated by both names, is still uncertain.

Outside the book of Esther the only mention of India is (1) in the formula which described the dominion of the Persian or Babylonian king as extending "from India unto Ethiopia." This has found its way into the LXX version of the book of Daniel and occurs also in 1 Esdr. 3:2. (2) A bombastic account tells how the Romans had taken "the country of India" from Antiochus, the Great King of Asia, and given it to King Eumenes (1 Macc. 8:8). There is also mention of the Indian mahouts of thirty-two elephants in the host of Antiochus Eupator (1 Macc. 6:37).

We also find in the apocryphal books (1 Esdras; 1, 2, 3 Macc.) Coele-Syria as a recognized district although its dimensions seem to have varied considerably, sometimes being equivalent to Syria in its widest acceptance, sometimes to the district of Decapolis. It is in the strictest and most proper sense a name limited to the valley between Libanus and Antilibanus, and known as the Bukâ'a.

The geography of the books of Judith and Tobit, as being works of fiction, may be passed over. That of Tobit is certainly of the vaguest. The name Cyamon, a place "over against Esdraelon," though it looks like a Greek name, is probably only a corruption of a Semitic name, and the river called Hydaspes (1:6) seems to be inserted only in a vague way as the name of a far-off river. It is certainly not the Indian river of that name. Vergil, it will be remembered, speaks of a Median Hydaspes (*Georg.*, iv, 211), while Horace assigns to it the epithet "fabulous." (*Od.*, i, 22, 8.)

The book of Wisdom, almost certainly Egyptian in origin, the author of which, perhaps from delicacy of feeling or policy, never mentions the name of the country, though giving long and magniloquent descriptions of the Ten Plagues, gives us one name, Pentapolis, for the district of the five cities of the plain (Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, Zoar), after the analogy of Decapolis (Wisd. 10:6). It is a good old Greek name for a state comprising five towns and is used by Herodotus (i, 144) of Doris, and later of the district of the five chief cities of Cyrene in Libya.

Perhaps one of the most curious points to notice in the way of omission of Greek names in the LXX is that the Greek has never inserted the name Νεῖλος for the great river of Egypt, a name which occurs first in the *Theogony* of Hesiod. Homer called the river Αἴγυπτος (*Od.*, iii, 300).

It is, however, when we come to the translation of the *prophetic books*, and more especially the Major Prophets, that we meet with a far greater familiarity with Greek names, and a readiness boldly to use them instead of transliterating the Hebrew ones. This certainly points to these translations being of later date. Ἑλλάς or Ἑλλην is a constant rendering of Javan, not only in the LXX, but also in the other versions of Daniel; curiously enough it is once used to represent the Philistines, who, as we have seen already, were a non-Semitic race (see Isa. 9:12). The R. V. follows this rendering except in Isaiah. Twice in Jeremiah (46:16; 50:16) the "oppressing" sword becomes the "Greek" sword (ἀπὸ προσώπου μαχαίρας Ἑλληνικῆς) by reading יִינְהָ as יִינְהָ and treating it as a feminine adjective.

Rome, or rather the Romans, meet us only once in the canonical books, in the LXX version of Dan. 11:30 where Πωμαῖοι stands for "ships of Kittim." This, we should gather from the general character of the translation, is a midrashic paraphrase, intended to interpret the meaning of the original expression. It may be noted that Kittim is used both by Hebrew and LXX of the isles of the West in Jer. 2:10, and of Macedonia in 1 Macc., chap. 1:8:5. This agrees in a way with Gen. 10:4, where Kittim is counted among the sons of Japheth.

The Libyans who appear first in 2 Chronicles as the natural equivalent of the Lubim, are also made identical with Put (Jeremiah once; Ezekiel twice). This identification is also made by Josephus, though, if the present order of the Greek words is right, Put is identified with the Cretans in Ezek. 30:5. As for Crete itself, it stands for what is called in R. V. "the seacoast" (הַבַּל הַיָּם) in Zeph. 2:6. This is a paraphrastic rendering gathered from the verse immediately preceding, where the expression "the inhabitants of the seacoast" (הַבָּל הַיָּם again; but LXX τὸ σχοίνισμα τῆς θαλάσσης) is in parallelism with "the nation of the Cherethites," who are identified here,¹⁹ as they are elsewhere by some modern scholars, and by BQ* in Ezek. 25:16, with the Cretans.²⁰ The land, however, mentioned by the prophet seems certainly to be Philistia; at the same time, the Philistines are often connected with Crete, and there may be a trace of this in the rendering, if it is a genuine one.

There still remain a few names in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, which call for reference.

Tarshish and its inhabitants, often identified with the Greek Tartessus, are called Καρχηδών, Χαρκεδών, or Χαλκεδών (once in Ezekiel), and Καρχηδόνιοι in Isaiah and Ezekiel. Elsewhere the name is transliterated. This gives the explanation which a writer in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* says is not apparent, for the use of chalcedony in the margin of the R. V. in Exod. 28:20 for the stone called שֹׁהַב־יָדָה in the Hebrew. Καρχηδών is, of course, the Greek name for Carthage. Professor Sayce seems now inclined to identify Tarshish with Tarsus in Cilicia. Chalcedon was a very different place and was on the Asiatic coast opposite to Byzantium, but in the above passage it seems to be only a scribal corruption.²¹

Diaphanous robes (?) from Laconia appear in the list of female vanities at the end of the third chapter of Isaiah. It is true that "the silk of the Spartan plain at the present day is superior to the silk of every other district

¹⁹ A different account of this passage, but probably an incorrect one, is given in the *Ency. Biblica*, *sub voce* "Crete."

²⁰ In this passage there is a curious variant, which must be of long standing, in A and Q^{mg}, κριτὰς for Κρητὰς, which has its origin in an itacism, and which A and two cursives (26 and 106) have tried to set right by the addition of the word Σιδῶνος.

²¹ There are many indications that the translations of parts of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets come from the same hands; e. g., in Hosea, chap. 5, and Jer. 26 (46):18 Tabor is represented by Ἰραβύριον. The preformative 'I- is somewhat difficult to account for, but the form occurs also in Josephus with a variant Ἀταβύριον, and this leads us on to the form Ἀτάβυρις, the highest point of the mountains in the island of Rhodes, with its temple of Zeus Atabyrius on the summit. The island seems also to have been called Atabyria.

of Greece,²² but the silk industry there belongs to later times than this translation. These robes must be something like "Coan garments," which we meet with in Latin poetry. Silk or some other gauzy material seems to have been imported into that island from the East and there made up into garments. The nearest approach to these diaphanous robes in classical literature is the *Laconicae purpurae* of Horace (*Carm.*, 2, 15, 17).

Rhinocorura (or Rhinocolura, as it is sometimes called) is the true equivalent in Isa. 27:12 for the נַחַל מִצְרַיִם, or "river of Egypt," usually called the boundary torrent between Palestine and Egypt. It is now called the Wādi el 'Arish.²³ There is also a town of this name, and a curious story is told of the origin of the name by Diodorus Siculus (i, 60). All the suspected thieves in Egypt when Actisanes, king of Ethiopia, conquered it, were collected and had their noses cut off and were then planted in this place; hence the name.

Syene (or Σσηνη) = סִינַה, today Aswān, it is interesting to note, is taken in Isa. 43:3 as the equivalent of סֶבַא, which was located in upper Egypt. No doubt the translator looked upon this as the frontier town of Egypt and Seba. In Ezek. 30:6 LXX²⁴ seem to have read סִינַה rather than סִין on the ground that the latter place had been mentioned in vs. 15. Otherwise they have here given Σσηνη as the equivalent for סִין, of which the usual Greek name was Pelusium.

The Greek name Βούβαστος or Bubastis, which occurs also in Herodotus, is a better attempt at representing the name of the city in Lower Egypt which was the home of the goddess Bast, with the head of a cat or tigress, and which gave its name to the twenty-second dynasty, than the Hebrew form Pi-beseth, a form which reminds us of Pi-hahiroth. It is permissible, however, to hold that the latter part of the Hebrew name was originally read בִּסְתָה and not בִּסְתָה.

Diospolis is the Greek name for the city which is called נַאֲ in Ezek. 30:14, 16,²⁴ and is generally known to us as Thebes. The name was probably given to it, because from the twelfth dynasty onward (*i.e.*, from rather earlier than 2000 B.C.), Amos was the most powerful divinity of southern Egypt. The city was called Diospolis the Great to distinguish it from others of the same name.

Turning to quite a different part of the world, we meet with "wool from Miletus" for the "white wool" of R. V. in Ezek. 27:18, among the imports of Tyre. The Hebrew word is צִנּוֹר, and Jerome²⁵ is quoted as saying: "*Miletum* in Hebraico non habetur; sed quia inde lanae praecipuae deferuntur, pro *Soor Miletum* interpretati sunt." The excellence of Milesian wool was known to Virgil (*Georg.*, iii, 306; iv, 335), who speaks of "*Milesia vellera*" more than once.

²² MURE, Vol. II, p. 224.

²³ For a different meaning assigned to מִצְרַיִם see *Ency. Bib.*, s. v. "Egypt, River of."

²⁴ In Jer. 46:25, LXX has a different text.

²⁵ Cf. FIELD, *Hexapla*.

The only books that remain which require any consideration are those of the Maccabees, especially the first and second. In these we find a much wider range of names, including especially a number of places where presumably settlements of Jewish mercantile residents were to be found. There is great difficulty in determining the extent and number of these Jewish settlements, partly owing to the adoption by the Jews of Greek names, and partly to their being enrolled, not as individuals, but as tribes of the particular state; but the matter is being to a certain extent cleared up by the study of the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor. If Tarsus may be taken as an example, there was without doubt a very large Jewish population in some of these places.²⁶ Perhaps most interesting of all is the list of countries (in 1 Macc. 15:23) to which the Romans are said to have sent a circular letter in behalf of the Jews. It is said to have been addressed "to Sampsames (?), and to the Spartans, and unto Delos, and unto Myndos, and unto Sicyon, and unto Caria, and unto Samos, and unto Pamphylia, and unto Lycia, and unto Halicarnassus, and unto Rhodes, and unto Phaselis, and unto Cos, and unto Side, and unto Aradus, and Gortyna, and Cnidus, and Cyprus, and Cyrene (or Smyrna)."

It is noticeable, in passing, what a large proportion of these names occur in the Acts of the Apostles and are names of well-known districts or places. Of the rest, not mentioned in the Acts, Sampsames (Σαμψάκης [A]) was read by the Latin versions as Lampsacus, and this is probably the true reading, though Black identifies Sampsames with Samsoun on the south coast of the Euxine.

It is claimed for Sparta and the Spartans elsewhere in the same book (14:8) that they were in friendship and confederacy with the Jews in the time of the Maccabees, and more than one communication is said to have passed between the rulers of the two countries, though how far the alleged correspondence set down in the book (12:14) is genuine is very doubtful. The Spartans acknowledged a blood-relationship with the Jews, whether by way of flattery only is not apparent, but the object in view on both sides was a political relationship.

Of the other places mentioned, Delos was a place of world-wide fame, and in the time of the Maccabees a great center of trade and a free port, where the Jews (see Jos., *Ant.*, 14, 10, 14) were exempt from military service. By the time of the Acts it had quite lost its importance. Myndus was a wealthy place close to which considerable silver mines existed. Halicarnas-

²⁶ For an interesting paper on the Jews in the Græco-Asiatic cities, see PROFESSOR RAMSAY'S articles in the *Expositor* for January and February, 1902.

sus was near to Myndus. It is evident that the Jews formed an important part of the population of this place, for they were allowed special privileges (Jos., *Ant.*, 14, 10, 23). Phaselis ("the bean-city"), on the borders of Lycia and Pamphylia, an ancient city of importance, had an independence of its own. Aradus corresponds to the Hebrew Arvad, a town built on an island off the coast of Tripolis thirty miles south of Tyre and Sidon, one of the most ancient cities of the world. It had a coinage of its own. Gortyna, a famous city of Crete, as old as Homer (*Il.*, 2:646) was also an autonomous place with a coinage.²⁷

A curious question arises as to who the Galatians of 1 Macc. 8:2 were. The margin of A. V. ("Frenchmen") and R. V. settle the matter in the sense that they were Gauls, and the collocation of Spain with these people in the next verses, as well as the statement that they were conquered and brought under tribute by the Romans, makes a strong argument in favor of this identification. The form of the name is no argument against this, as Gaul was called Γαλαρία long before it was called Γαλλία (*cf.* Paus., i, 4, 1). All this illustrates the variation in reading in 2 Tim. 4:10 ("Crescens to Galatia") between Γαλλίαν that of N and Γαλαρίαν (W-H). The historical arguments as to the meaning of the word in 1 Maccabees seem to be about equally balanced. Cisalpine Gaul was conquered by the Romans about 220 B. C., while the Asiatic Galatians do not seem to have paid tribute at all. On the other hand, the Roman army under Manlius had marched through Galatia in 189 B. C. probably less than thirty years before the time of 1 Macc. 8:2.

We hear of constant negotiations on the part of the Maccabæan house with Rome, and of ambassadors being sent to and fro between Rome and Jerusalem; and it is significant that the names of the ambassadors are of Greek form—Eupolemus, Jason, Numenius, Antipater (1 Macc. 8:17; 12:16). There seems to have been also an acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Rome, admitted by the fact of the dispatch of an ambassador with "a great shield of gold of a thousand pound weight" (14:24). The *one* Roman consul mentioned in 1 Macc. 15:16 was probably L. Calpurnius Piso (139 B. C.). But any settlement in Rome of any considerable number of Jews does not seem to have taken place till after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B. C.

The mention of Spain has already been noticed. A knowledge of its richness in mines of silver and gold, and of the Romans having obtained possession of them, seems to have reached Jerusalem. Silver is mentioned first, perhaps, because the silver mines of Spain were richer and more abundant than the gold mines.

²⁷It is interesting to notice that this passage is a *locus classicus*, as the sole authority for the information about the more or less autonomous position of some of these places.

Daphne (2 Macc. 4 : 33) was about five miles from Antioch in Syria and almost counted as a part of the city itself; in fact, this Antioch was called by the distinguishing title *ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ*. The sanctuary alluded to in 2 Maccabees must have been one dedicated to Apollo and Artemis. *Daphnici mores* were proverbial; and Antioch and Daphne have been called the Paris and Versailles of the East.

The people of Mallus are mentioned in 2 Macc. 4 : 30 as having rebelled against Antiochus Epiphanes with those of Tarsus (*ca.* 171 B. C.), because the cities objected to being given to Antiochis, the king's concubine. The exact site of this city is still a matter of doubt, owing to the shifting of the water-courses, and the question whether it was 150 stadia inland or 150 stadia east of a place called Antiochia or Magarsa.

The mention of Persepolis in 2 Macc. 9 : 2 carries us to the city the farthest to the East that is mentioned in the whole of the LXX. Ruins of two of its palaces still exist, and its cuneiform inscriptions are well known. It had already been sacked by Alexander the Great, but it succeeded in driving out Antiochus and his army in what is called a disgraceful flight.

"The haven of Tripolis" (2 Macc. 14 : 1) was a harbor with large commerce. Tripolis looked upon itself as the metropolis of Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus.

Two or three geographical terms perhaps deserve mention :

The *פְּלִי* or "Plain," as it is called in A. V., is translated *περίχωρος* (a word which occurs with the same signification in the New Testament) in Genesis, Deuteronomy, 2 Chronicles, Nehemiah, or *περὶχωρος* (once, but twice in A in Genesis (19 : 25, 29) and in 3 Kings 7 : 46). It would seem that the two different renderings of this word in Neh. 3 : 22 (transliterated) and in 12 : 28 (translated) are intended to indicate a difference in meaning, though in the opposite way to that which we should have expected from the use in Genesis. In the first passage, the "Plain" is the plain of Jordan; in the second, the plain round about Jerusalem. This difference is indicated in R. V. by a difference in the printing—"Plain" and "plain."

Omitting any passage where the LXX obviously read the Hebrew differently, we find the *נֶגֶב* (A. V. the "South") translated paraphrastically as *ἡ ἔρημος* in Genesis (three times), Numbers (three times), Deuteronomy (once), Joshua (once), Isaiah (once). This may perhaps illustrate the use of *ἔρημος* in Acts 8 : 26, where "the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza" is followed by the expression *αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος*—for Gaza stands on the border of the Negeb. *ἀψ* is another rendering which occurs four times in Genesis, once or twice in Exodus, five times in Numbers, once in Deuteronomy, nineteen times in Joshua, once in 2 Chronicles, twice in Ezekiel, once in Daniel (Theod.); *μνησθῆναι* represents the word twice in Daniel (LXX); *νότος* twice in Exodus, once in Numbers, seven times in Joshua (chiefly A), three or four times in Judges, eight times in 1 Kings, once in 2 Kings, twice in 3 Kings, three

times in 1 Chronicles, once in 2 Chronicles, once in Psalms, twice in Zechariah, twice in Jeremiah, seven times in Ezekiel, once (doubtful) in Daniel (LXX), twelve times in Daniel (Theod.). Translitative forms occur in Joshua, Obadiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. In Daniel (LXX; chap. 11) the meaning of נֶגֶב is given by translating it *Ἀγυπτος* in ten places. Such a variation of renderings of such a simple word as we find occurring in one book, Joshua, would help us to the conclusion, which is no doubt a correct one, that in that book, at any rate, we have a very composite text, far removed from the original Greek version, and often worked over by emendators.

The נֶגֶב, or "low country" of the A. V., has as its Greek representative ἡ πεδινὴ in Joshua, 3 Kings (once), 1 Chronicles (once), 2 Chronicles (three times), Zechariah (once), Isaiah (twice), Jeremiah (once); and this term is used in 1 Maccabees, where in one passage there is a curious conflate reading in B* ἐν τῇ σέφηνᾳ πεδινῇ. Πεδιον takes the place of πεδινὴ in Deuteronomy (once), Joshua (twice). Once in B τὰ ταπεινά takes the place of τὰ πεδινά (Josh. 11:16). The Hebrew is transliterated in 2 Chronicles, Obadiah, Jeremiah (twice in B*), and 1 Maccabees.

Lastly, we have the technical word *νομός* as the name of a district used in connection with Egypt, and afterward extended to other countries (1 Macc., 10:30, 38; 11:34, 57).

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

If, with these details before us, we examine them in connection with the general knowledge of geography which had been acquired in the second century B. C., and of which a résumé can be found in Mahaffy's *The Greek World Under Roman Sway*, what shall we find? The answer is a short one. Beside the islands and Asiatic shores of the eastern Mediterranean, little is known. The writers of the Old Testament, though from the heights of their Palestinian home they looked forth over the waters of the Mediterranean, yet practically had no knowledge of the continent of Europe. And even in the books of the Apocrypha but little advance is made upon this. The books of the Maccabees, especially the first book, deal with the history of the Jews, as a people for the most part striving to maintain itself in a proud isolation from the rest of the world, even though a Hellenizing spirit is growing among them and cannot always be repressed. We hear of embassies to Rome and Sparta, as well as of a claim of ethnic connection with the latter, but these are only sent in a time of desperate effort for self-preservation. Besides, we meet with an Athenian a Thracian (though the reading is doubtful), and Indians, but this is all. As to the knowledge of Asia Minor and Egypt this is more exten-

sive and is due to the fact that nearly all the places mentioned could be reached in the course of coasting voyages, or lie up the river Nile, and many of them, at any rate, were centers of Jewish life and commerce. True, the Jews had also traveled farther west, but the farther from their spiritual home at Jerusalem they had traveled, the less did they keep up their connection with it. On the day of Pentecost, when a list of those who were present from foreign countries is given in Acts, chap. 2, Rome is the only European city mentioned; and when at last St. Paul carries the gospel into Europe, it is only after a special vision had been vouchsafed to him and he had heard the cry, "Come over into Macedonia and help us" (Acts 16:9), that he contemplates, and immediately carries out what he looks upon as a divine command to go still farther afield.

A further point to be noticed is that of the names of places or countries, or of adjectives connected with them, out of a total of seventy-four common to the LXX and the New Testament fifty-three occur in the Acts of the Apostles. The greater number of Palestinian names in the New Testament do not occur in the Old Testament, at any rate in the same form.

If we ask, further, what are the extreme limits of the names occurring in the whole of the LXX, we shall find them, if we omit "India" as simply part of a title, to be Spain on the west, Persepolis or Parthia on the east, Ethiopia on the south, and Macedonia on the north. Almost all the places in it would be found to have been included within the boundaries of the Greek empire of Alexander the Great and of the kingdoms which took its place. This is what we should have expected from the period to which the translation or publication of the various books can be assigned, commencing with the latter half of the third century B. C.